

THE BYZANTINE CONTRIBUTION
TO WESTERN ART
OF THE TWELFTH AND
THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

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This paper contains the substance of the "Conclusions" presented by the author at the final session of a Symposium on "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1965. Originally sub-titled "Carriers, Phases, and Meaning of the Byzantine Contribution," it was subsequently rewritten for delivery as an independent lecture. The author wishes to thank his colleagues who participated in the Symposium and its preparation. Without the advice, information, and criticism he received from them, this attempt at a broad synthesis could not have been undertaken. A synopsis of the entire program of the Symposium will be found at the end of this volume.

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THE problem to which I shall address myself in these pages can be stated quite simply. The two centuries from A.D. 1100 to 1300 witnessed the greatest achievements in the history of Western mediaeval art, namely, the creation of Gothic cathedral art in the North and a new birth of painting in Italy. During this same two hundred years' span Western Europe was brought into the closest contact it ever had with the art of the Greek East, the art of Byzantium. The question is whether there is any causal connection between these two sets of facts, and, if so, what that connection is.¹

The question was answered in essentially negative terms by the originators of modern art historical inquiry, Lorenzo Ghiberti in the fifteenth century and Giorgio Vasari in the sixteenth. Solely concerned, of course, with Italy, they blamed the *maniera greca* for everything that was wrong with painting in that country before the genius of Giotto ushered in a new era.² Actually, in a sense, they grossly overstated the role of the "Greeks," i.e., the Byzantines, for they claimed that Greek painters alone had maintained or established any sort of tradition during the long night of the Dark Ages and that the only masters available to teach at least the rudiments of the art to the young geniuses of the dawning Renaissance in Tuscany were Greeks. But the *maniera greca* was taught only to be overcome. It was simply the dead hand of tradition and had no positive role in the emergence of Western art. Italy attained its new heights of greatness in spite of, rather than thanks to, its Byzantine contacts.

Since the days of Ghiberti and Vasari, and more particularly during the last hundred years, a good deal of study has been devoted to Byzantine art. Along with this exploratory work has come a thorough-going reappraisal of the role of Byzantium vis-à-vis the art of the West. To stay within the Italian domain for the moment, a school of thought has developed which credits Byzantium with a constructive and positive contribution to the dramatic evolution of painting in that country, particularly in the thirteenth century.³ Yet, the assessment of Byzantium's role remains ambiguous. As recently as 1948 Roberto Longhi, one of Italy's most brilliant art historians, published a now famous article in which—so far as the value of the Byzantine contribution is concerned—Vasari's case is in effect restated.⁴ The *maniera greca* was a

¹ The problem is part, or rather the core, of the Byzantine Question, which has occupied historians of mediaeval art for more than one hundred years. See Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., II (Paris, 1926), p. 712 ff.

² On *maniera greca*, see, in general, E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 24 f., 34.

³ See especially P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I (Turin, 1927), p. 918 ff.; P. Muratoff, *La peinture byzantine* (Paris, 1928), p. 132 ff.; R. Oertel, *Die Frühzeit der italienischen Malerei* (Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 38, 57, and *passim*; also G. Millet, "L'art des Balkans et l'Italie au XIII^e siècle," *Atti del V congresso internazionale di studi bizantini*, II (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, VI [Rome, 1940]), p. 272 ff., where, however, a rather sharp distinction is drawn between the art of the Balkans and the art of Byzantium proper. Millet's ideas are developed further in a recent book by R. Valland, eloquently entitled *Aquilée et les origines byzantines de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1963).

⁴ R. Longhi, "Giudizio sul Duecento," *Proporzioni*, 2 (1948), p. 5 ff., especially pp. 9 f., 21 f., 24 ff. See also F. Bologna, *La pittura italiana delle origini* (Rome, 1962), a book based on Longhi's premises.

blight, the Greeks were the "sterilizers" of Dugento painting, the triumphs of Giotto and Duccio were achieved in the teeth of, rather than with the help of, this alien intrusion. While Longhi's article displays a startling lack of comprehension of Byzantine art and its history, Victor Lazareff, one of the foremost living authorities in that field, with excellent credentials also as a student of Italian art, likewise takes a rather negative view of Byzantium's over-all role in relation to the latter.⁵ Thus the issue remains very much alive in our own day; indeed, so far as Italy is concerned, the negative appraisals of the Byzantine contribution have, on balance, won out over the positive.

Study of mediaeval art in the transalpine countries is, of course, of much more recent origin. Born of the historical and aesthetic concepts of Romanticism, it tended from the outset to put a positive evaluation on whatever Byzantine influences and affinities were observed, and this positive attitude has remained characteristic of much of the research in that field. But even in the North examples of the "Vasarian" approach are not lacking. For instance, in a fairly recent and authoritative book on the great school of metalwork which flourished in the valley of the Meuse in the twelfth century we read, à propos of the famous triptych from Stavelot in the Morgan Library in New York, in which Byzantine and Western enamels appear side by side, the following impassioned generalization: "Quelle réserve et quelle froideur dans celles-là (i.e., the Byzantine work), quelle vie, quelle liberté, quel naturel, dans celles-ci! (i.e., the Meusan). Non, l'esprit byzantin n'a pas dompté encore l'esprit narratif et improvisateur de nos orfèvres. Et c'est infiniment heureux, convenons-en!"⁶

The point at issue, then, is not whether Byzantine influences are present in Western art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—on this the proponents of Byzantium and its detractors are on the whole agreed—but the evaluation of its role. Was Byzantium essentially a retarding, chilling, and obstructing element in Western art or was it a positive, life-giving, and constructive one?

Before going further, I should make it clear that my observations will be confined to the pictorial arts on which the whole debate has been traditionally focussed. Architecture, which of course constitutes an essential part of the total Western achievement during the period in question, had its own distinct development, to which the Byzantine contribution is at best elusive and indirect.⁷ Our topic is the role of Byzantium vis-à-vis the emergent Gothic in Northern sculpture and painting, on the one hand, and vis-à-vis the new birth of painting in Italy, on the other.

The conflicting assessments of this role are due in large part to uncertainties about Byzantine art itself. Here again it is useful to go back to Vasari whose

⁵ V. N. Lazareff, "An Unknown Monument of Florentine Dugento Painting and some General Problems Concerning the History of Italian Art in the Thirteenth Century" (in Russian), *Ezhgodnik Instituta Istorii Iskusstv*, (1956; published in 1957), p. 383ff., especially p. 427ff. While Lazareff explicitly rejects Longhi's extreme position (p. 437), essentially he considers the *maniera greca* of the thirteenth century as a foreign interlude antithetic to what he regards as the main line of development of a national Italian art.

⁶ S. Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique* (Brussels, 1951), p. 170.

⁷ H. Sedlmayr, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale* (Zurich, 1950), pp. 198ff., 346f.

concept of that art was of extreme simplicity. To him the *maniera greca* meant monotonous and repetitious representations of saints, tinted rather than painted (i.e., drawn with lines and primary colors rather than modeled in the round), standing on the tips of their toes, with eyes staring and hands open. Moreover, it meant a totally static art, entirely determined by usages and traditions handed on from one painter to another, generation after generation, without any attempt at change or improvement, and thus wholly lacking in development.⁸ This is Vasari's "image" of Byzantine art, and in spite of all the attention—and in great part sympathetic attention—given to this art in more recent times, this image (like the image which, two centuries after Vasari, Edward Gibbon drew of the Byzantine state and Byzantine civilization as a whole) is still very much with us, witness the modern art historians whom I quoted. Vasari's concept refuses to die for the same reason, no doubt, that Gibbon's will not die, namely, that it is partly true. Monotonous rows of saints with staring eyes and open hands are not hard to find in Byzantine art. It is also true that such representations recur without essential change through many hundreds of years, so that one may well speak of virtual stagnation, especially if one uses as a yardstick the pace of development, say, in the Italian Renaissance, or in our own time. But, of course, there is another side to Byzantine art, a side perpetually nourished and reinvigorated by Byzantium's Graco-Roman heritage, thanks to which figures may appear in lively action, in three-dimensional corporeality, and in spatial settings. Frescoes such as those of Castelseprio and Sopoćani, and miniatures such as those of the Joshua Roll or the Paris Nicander Manuscript (B.N., suppl. gr. 247) are just as "Byzantine" as Vasari's rows of saints, and it is on works displaying to a greater or lesser degree this antique heritage that the proponents of a positive role of Byzantine art vis-à-vis the West have most often drawn. In one sense, however, these proponents have tended to agree with Vasari. They, too, have often treated Byzantine art as essentially static, witness the fact that the examples with which they have illustrated Byzantine influences have at times been chosen rather indiscriminately from different centuries. Yet, one of the achievements of modern scholarship has been an increasingly clear understanding of the development that took place within Byzantine art through the long centuries of its existence. While this development has not as wide a range as that of Western art, while the swings of the pendulum are, as it were, less great, the evolutionary pattern is nevertheless real and organic. To be aware of this, to take the measure of where Byzantine art itself stood at the time the intensive contacts with the West began and how it progressed from this point on is a first prerequisite for a proper appraisal of the East-West relationship.

The mosaics of Daphni (fig. 1); the most representative monument of Byzantine pictorial art remaining to us of the period about A.D. 1100, provide a logical starting point for such a survey, which in the circumstances must

⁸ G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. by G. Milanesi, I (Florence, 1878), pp. 242f., 250f.

necessarily be brief and somewhat oversimplified. The Daphni style embodies a rare synthesis, a moment of extraordinary equilibrium between the two antithetic elements always present in Byzantine art, the "classical" and the "abstract." Figures stand out clearly, almost starkly, against large areas of empty ground and are structured firmly by means of a rather simple and schematic system of lines, which also stands out very clearly, particularly in the draperies, and recurs time and again in more or less identical and stereotyped patterns. But, in spite of these abstract settings and linear "armatures," figures are organic and three-dimensional. This is due partly to subtle and skillful modeling within the linear framework, but chiefly to a bold use of contrasts of light and dark, whereby the figures acquire a great deal of relief and a solid bodily presence.

Of the two elements so nicely balanced here—the organic and the linear—it is the latter which wins out more and more in Byzantine art in the course of the twelfth century. In the votive panel of the Emperor John II Comnenus in the south gallery of St. Sophia, a mosaic of about 1120, the "painterly" elements of the Daphni style have already been largely eliminated (fig. 2). Every feature—eyes, nose, mouth, hands—is so fully and clearly defined by neat and emphatic lines and all shading is so smooth and regular that, instead of solid flesh, we seem to behold a brittle, sharp-edged mask of fine porcelain. This calligraphic, linear quality remains dominant in Byzantine painting throughout the twelfth century. The head of St. Panteleimon from the frescoes at Nerezi in Macedonia, dated 1164, is indeed a direct descendent of the heads of the mosaic panel of John II, with the pattern of lines refined almost to the point of preciousness (fig. 3). But Nerezi, in its famous cycle of Gospel scenes, also illustrates a further step, namely, an increasing complexity of these linear patterns (fig. 4). In the draperies these begin to form all manner of zigzags, curls, and eddies, which, though not really motivated by the action of the body underneath, do impart to the figures a new liveliness, a nervous intensity. And this agitation is not confined to draperies; it seizes the entire figure, as well as the scenic setting, so that the whole composition begins to heave and swirl. What we see here is, in fact, the beginning of that "dynamic" phase which was to dominate Byzantine art in the last decades of the twelfth century. It is only rather recently that this phase has come to be recognized as a major and distinctive phenomenon in the main stream of the Byzantine stylistic evolution.⁹ As we shall see, to be aware of this phase is of considerable importance for a correct understanding of what happens in the West during the same period.

When paintings such as those of Nerezi first became known they were called "neo-hellenistic," because of the evident fact that there is in them a new intensity of gesture and facial expression, a new emotional power and human

⁹ O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), p. 417 ff.; E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), p. 75 ff.; K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätbyzantinische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), p. 299 ff.

empathy.¹⁰ But in the purely formal sense the term is misleading because these paintings remain essentially within the linear tradition of the first half of the century. There is no return here either to the "painterly" devices or to the solidity and monumentality (or, for that matter, to the classic nobility and poise) of the human form which we found at Daphni. Certainly the highly sophisticated interplay of agitated linear patterns adds to the emotional power of these figures, and to do so may well have been the original purpose of the new dynamism. But it soon becomes an end in itself, divorced from all inner motivation, and what may at first have seemed to have the makings of a powerful Byzantine baroque ends up, in the 1190's, in a strange sort of mannerism (fig. 5). Looking back from this point to the mosaics of Daphni, one must certainly grant that there was in Byzantine art of the twelfth century a stylistic development of considerable magnitude.

What is true of the twelfth century applies even more to the thirteenth. In the whole history of Byzantine art this is one of the most crucial centuries and one of the most obscure. At one time it was considered simply a hiatus. Art in Constantinople was thought to have gone into a decline in the latter half of the twelfth century and to have come to a virtual standstill during the period of the occupation of the city by the Crusaders (1204-1261).¹¹ The new flowering under the Palaeologan dynasty in the early fourteenth century was thought to have been due to new impulses from Italy.¹² Today this view is no longer tenable. We still lack, and probably always shall, a coherent series of monumental mosaics and paintings from the capital itself with which to bridge the gap between the late twelfth and the early fourteenth century. But in miniature painting a continuity of production has been conclusively demonstrated.¹³ And the more we have learned of mural paintings in some of the Byzantine "successor states," notably Serbia, Bulgaria, and Trebizond, the more we have come to realize that the monuments in these areas reflect a common tradition, a single, organic development. It may well be that Constantinople was the main generative center of this development throughout.

Having already made use of mural paintings in the Balkans as representatives of some stylistic phases in the twelfth century, I shall draw on the great Serbian fresco decorations of the thirteenth century to illustrate the major evolutionary trends in Byzantine art of that period. Except in certain provincial backwaters¹⁴ the phase of excessive, mannerist agitation was at an end by A.D. 1200. In its place (and, one is tempted to assume, by way of a reaction)

¹⁰ Muratoff, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹¹ N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, II (Paris, 1891), p. 166ff.

¹² The principal proponent of this thesis was D. V. Ainalov; for references, see O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress München 1958*, IV, 2 (Munich, 1958), p. 33f., note 141; p. 36, note 158.

¹³ K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6th ser., 25 (1944), p. 193ff.

¹⁴ O. Demus, "Studien zur byzantinischen Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 9 (1960), p. 77ff., especially p. 86ff.

there now appear a new simplicity and calm monumentality both of form and expression.¹⁵ The change is strikingly apparent in wall paintings of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica, dated A.D. 1208–9 (fig. 6). This new concentration on the essential structure and integrity of the human form and on the power of its simple presence is the basis of the entire subsequent development. At first the monumental effects are still achieved with the linear means inherited from the twelfth century. But—and this is the essence of the stylistic evolution in the thirteenth century—increasingly this linear frame is filled with volume and weight. Monumentality, at first achieved mainly through great, sweeping lines, becomes more and more a matter of solid modeling and heavy mass and is vastly enhanced in the process. The frescoes of Mileševo show how far this evolution had progressed by about 1235; those of Sopoćani, another thirty years later represent its peak (figs. 7, 38). It is still possible here to detect in many figures the old linear framework underlying the design, particularly of the draperies. But certain passages—thighs, elbows, heads above all—are modelled so conspicuously as to appear to be thrust forward from the picture plane. What is more important, these thrusts are not isolated; they are centrally motivated and controlled by a powerful body which thus appears endowed with an autonomous inner force, rhythm, and weight, such as it had not possessed at any time since classical antiquity. It is by their own power that these figures seem to bulge out from the wall. It is their own volume also which appears to create space around and depth behind them, so that the traditional and conventional “stage props,” the mountains, buildings, and pieces of furniture likewise curve and bulge—but inward *into* the picture, thus creating a “cave space” for the figures to breathe and act in. This “volume style” has long been known from the mosaics of the Kariye Djami, its outstanding representative in Constantinople itself. Actually, in this great and miraculously well-preserved ensemble dating from the first decades of the fourteenth century the style already appears slightly prettified, mannered, and overcharged with conscious classical reminiscences. The heroic age of the “volume style” was the 1260’s and 1270’s, the period immediately following the Greek reconquest of Constantinople under the Palaeologan dynasty.¹⁶ It hardly needs emphasizing that the remarkable—and still imperfectly understood—stylistic evolution leading up to this climax is one to which Vasari’s description of the *maniera greca* is almost entirely irrelevant.

Before trying to determine what bearing all this has on the art of the West we must consider two preliminary questions. The first is whether, in focussing on the stylistic aspects of Byzantine art, we have not from the start narrowed down the issue too much. Are there not other aspects—Byzantium’s preeminence in certain crafts and techniques, for instance, or its highly developed religious and imperial iconography—which loom just as large, or larger, in the total picture? Our other preliminary question—and a very basic one—is what

¹⁵ Demus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 12), p. 25 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29 f.

actual knowledge of Byzantine art the West can be shown or presumed to have had in the period which concerns us.

As to the first of these two questions, the artistic relationship between East and West does, of course, have other aspects aside from the stylistic one. There are, for one thing, certain *media* which became prominent in Western art during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and which were wholly or largely imported from Byzantium. One such medium is wall mosaic, a forgotten art in the West until it was revived in the latter half of the eleventh century under Byzantine tutelage;¹⁷ another is panel painting, which we are apt to think of as a typically Western art form until we pause to consider how much its central role in the history of Western art owes to the impact of the Byzantine icon on Italian Dugento painting;¹⁸ a third medium which should be mentioned here is stained glass, an art form which until recently was considered quite exclusively Western, but which in the light of some new finds in Istanbul may turn out also to have received an initial stimulus from Byzantium, though the Greeks never developed the aesthetic potential of this medium as it was developed in the Gothic cathedral.¹⁹

Then there is the Byzantine canon of *iconographic themes and types*, which all along had exerted great and authoritative influence in the West; this, too, was heavily drawn upon in certain contexts, in the "imperial" oriented art of Sicily and Venice, for instance;²⁰ in the illumination of luxury manuscripts in England and France about and after 1200;²¹ and in thirteenth-century panel painting in Tuscany.²²

Finally, mention must be made of the West's perennial fascination with the splendor and luxuriousness of the Byzantine *sumptuary arts*, a fascination powerfully stimulated during this period through reliquaries and other precious objects brought back by the Crusaders, and particularly through the mass of Byzantine objets d'art which came to the West after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. In certain types, especially of devotional and liturgical objects and utensils, this influence is clearly discernible.²³

Yet, for our purposes, I feel justified in concentrating on the strictly stylistic aspect. In an over-all assessment of the role and meaning of Byzantine influ-

¹⁷ See *infra*, p. 36.

¹⁸ Lazareff, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 5), p. 428 ff., especially p. 436; H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes* (Munich, 1962), *passim*.

¹⁹ A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), p. 333 ff., esp. p. 349 ff.

²⁰ The most obvious examples in these two centers are provided by mosaic decorations; see, in general, O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1947), p. 63 ff.

²¹ H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), p. 56.

²² Cf. note 18, *supra*.

²³ A. Grabar, "Orfèvrerie mosane—orfèvrerie byzantine," in: *L'art mosan*, ed. by P. Francastel (Paris, 1953), p. 119 ff.; *idem*, "Le reliquaire byzantin de la cathédrale d'Aix-la-Chapelle," *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, III: *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 282 ff. (Grabar, however, fails to mention the key witness for the adoption in the West of the Byzantine type of utensil symbolizing the Heavenly Jerusalem, namely, Theophilus' chapters on censers: *Theophilus De Diversis Artibus*, ed. by C. R. Dodwell [London-Edinburgh-Paris-Melbourne-Toronto-New York, 1961], p. 111 ff.). R. Rückert, "Zur Form der byzantinischen Reliquiare," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd ser., 8 (1957), p. 7 ff. A. Frolov, *Les reliquaires de la vraie croix* (Paris, 1965), pp. 105 ff., 126 ff. and *passim*.

ences in Western art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries style undoubtedly is the crucial issue.²⁴

Turning now to the question of the actual means of transmission whereby Byzantine art became known in the West, the first point to be made is that opportunities for contact were, of course, plentiful in the age of the Crusades. I have just now referred to the objets d'art brought back in large quantities by the Crusaders themselves. Merchants and diplomats also added to this traffic. The two Byzantine reliquaries enshrined in the Morgan Library Triptych, for instance, probably were brought to the Monastery of Stavelot by its great Abbot Wibald, who travelled to Constantinople twice on diplomatic missions.²⁵ Other contacts were established not through travellers but through commissions placed in Constantinopolitan workshops by wealthy Western patrons, and it is noteworthy that this practice is well attested as early as the second half of the eleventh century.²⁶

Still, when one tries to put together all the solid evidence, the picture remains spotty. What important and representative examples of Byzantine art would a twelfth-century artist, say in France or England, actually have had occasion to see? How many Western artists ever did set eyes on the mosaics of Daphni or of St. Sophia? Even in the case of so massive an exposure to Byzantine art as is generally agreed to underlie the *maniera greca* in thirteenth-century Italy, how much do we know of actual, concrete links?

In trying to give an answer, however summary, to these questions it is necessary to distinguish between the travel of *objects* and the travel of *artists*. So far as the former is concerned, the richest and most consecutive evidence is indeed in the area of the sumptuary arts, especially metalwork. Beginning with the series of bronze doors commissioned in Constantinople by the Pantaleoni and other South Italian magnates since the 1060's,²⁷ and the great gold and enamel pala ordered in the Byzantine capital soon thereafter by the Venetians for the high altar of San Marco,²⁸ there was a steady flow of such objects, a flow powerfully reinforced by the Crusaders' quest for relics which also involved the relics' precious containers.²⁹ But for portable objects in the pictorial media—especially illuminated manuscripts and icons—which are of

²⁴ For evidence that during the period here under consideration the stylistic aspect of Byzantine works of art became for Western artists an object of study and imitation in its own right, quite often dissociated from iconographic meaning, see the two papers by K. Weitzmann in the present volume (especially pp. 20, 76); also my remarks on "motif books" on p. 139 ff. of a paper published in Athens (cf. *infra*, note 40).

²⁵ A. Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix* (Paris, 1961), p. 335 f.

²⁶ H. R. Hahnloser, "Magistra latinitas und peritia greca," *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), p. 77 ff., esp. p. 79 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80 ff. Hahnloser questions the traditional date of 1105 for this commission and suggests that work on it may have begun soon after the accession of Alexius I in A.D. 1081 (p. 93). He also suggests that in commissioning works of art in Constantinople the Venetians may have been influenced by South Italian precedents (p. 80).

²⁹ (Comte Riant), *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877/78). Frolov, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 25), p. 144 ff. (on relics and reliquaries of the True Cross; see also the interesting graph on p. 111).

particular interest in relation to our central problem of stylistic influences, the evidence is far less ample. Thus, it must be borne in mind that few, if any, of the great examples of Byzantine miniature painting preserved in Western libraries today were in the West during the Middle Ages. Most of these manuscripts came to the West during the age of Humanism. Undoubtedly, Byzantine illuminated manuscripts had travelled earlier. One manuscript, now in Vienna, was commissioned in Constantinople for the Church of St. Gereon in Cologne about A.D. 1077.³⁰ Another, in Paris, apparently came to France with a Constantinopolitan delegation in 1269.³¹ There is also the remarkable group of manuscripts with miniatures in a near-Byzantine style, recently identified by Professor Buchthal as products of ateliers in the Crusader States.³² All these manuscripts are in Western European Libraries, and in the great majority of cases this presumably means that they were brought to the West before the final collapse of Latin rule in 1291. In a few instances there are specific indications to that effect.³³ This, however, is the only major group of manuscripts which one can point to as a possible conveyor of a fairly continuous, if not altogether pure, sampling of Byzantine artistic developments. In the matter of icons the evidence is more meager still. Important as this medium came to be for the West, I know of only one authentically Byzantine icon of the Crusader period which is definitely known to have reached the West within that period, namely, the icon of the Virgin which Frederick Barbarossa gave to the Cathedral of Spoleto in 1185.³⁴ A number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century mosaic icons—outstanding among works of Byzantine art of those centuries—may have reached Italy (and particularly Sicily) at an early date,³⁵ but we do not know how early and the same is true of the one and only icon from the Crusaders' ateliers in the Holy Land so far located on Western soil.³⁶

One may well wonder whether in the over-all picture the traffic in objects was as important as it is sometimes thought to be. It is true that this traffic, aside from exposing Western artists to samples of more or less contemporary Byzantine art, may also have brought to their attention works of earlier and in some cases perhaps *much* earlier periods; we shall have occasion to refer to the role which Byzantine "antiques" may have played in the Western stylistic development.³⁷ I strongly suspect, however, that in the final reckoning the

³⁰ Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS Theol. gr. 336. See P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, 2 = *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, N. S. IV, 2 (Leipzig, 1938), p. 35 ff. I am grateful to Prof. H. Buchthal for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

³¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Coislin gr. 200. See *Byzance et la France médiévale* (exhibition catalog, Paris, Bibl. Nat., 1958), p. 30 f.

³² Buchthal, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 21).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 66 f., 92 note 2.

³⁴ S. G. Mercati, "Sulla Santissima Icone nel duomo di Spoleto," *Spoletium*, 3 (1956), p. 3 ff.

³⁵ V. Lazareff, "Early Italo-Byzantine Painting in Sicily," *The Burlington Magazine*, 63 (1933), p. 279 (icons in Palermo and Berlin). There is reason to believe that the mosaic icon of the Transfiguration in the Louvre (E. Coche de la Ferté, *L'antiquité chrétienne au Musée du Louvre* [Paris, 1958], p. 71) also was in Sicily before it came to Paris; the evidence for this is in the papers of the architect L. Dufourny (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Estampes, Ub 236, vol. VII).

³⁶ See K. Weitzmann's paper on Crusader icons in the present volume (p. 75 and fig. 52).

³⁷ *Infra*, p. 41 f.

migration of artists was of greater moment than the mute challenge of objects.³⁸ Here mention must be made first of all of the Byzantine mosaicists working in Italy. The first such workshop was established in Montecassino about the year 1070 at the bidding of Abbot Desiderius,³⁹ and this is, in fact, the only quite reliably documented case of Byzantine artists executing wall mosaics on Western soil during the entire period which we are considering. There is no doubt, however, that further teams of Byzantine mosaicists were imported by Italian patrons (notably the kings of Sicily and the doges of Venice) throughout the twelfth century, and the influx continued, if on a reduced scale, in the thirteenth. Thanks to the activities of these workshops, a major and highly representative branch of Byzantine pictorial art was continuously and through successive phases of its development kept before the eyes of Westerners, and while the influence of the mosaics, particularly in the countries north of the Alps, has sometimes been overrated, it was certainly real and important. What counts here is not only the example of the finished product, but also the opportunity of personal contacts with Greek masters which the mosaic workshops afforded.⁴⁰ Occasionally a Greek icon painter also may have found his way to the West.⁴¹ As for Western artists travelling East, we now know, thanks to the recent explorations by Professors Buchthal and Weitzmann, that there were illuminators and panel painters from Italy, France, and other Western countries in the Crusader states.⁴² It is possible, or even probable, that some of these artists eventually returned to their homelands.^{42a} Much scantier, but in many ways more important, evidence is provided by certain fragments of sketchbooks, especially those of Freiburg and Wolfenbuettel. Here we see Western artists in the actual process of noting down motifs from Byzantine models—and very up-to-date models—for subsequent use in their own or their colleagues' work. It is most unlikely that these studies and exercises were done at home solely with the help of some stray objects from the East that happened to have come to hand. In all probability these are travel notes—comparable in this sense to many of the drawings in Villard de

³⁸ As long ago as 1893, E. Muentz wrote: "...l'influence byzantine...s'exerça pour le moins autant par l'action personnelle des artistes fixés en Italie principalement, que par l'importation des oeuvres d'art." ("Les artistes byzantins dans l'Europe latine," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 36 [1893], p. 182 ff.). Muentz' study, supplemented for Italy by A. L. Frothingham (in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 [1894], p. 32 ff.), was based on literary and epigraphic evidence. I do not know of any systematic modern re-examination of that evidence.

³⁹ Leo of Ostia, *Chronicon Casinense*, III, 27 (Migne, PL, 173, col. 748).

⁴⁰ I have discussed the background and the impact of the Byzantine mosaicists working in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in another paper read at the Dumbarton Oaks symposium of 1965; also, with special reference to the Sicilian workshops, in a lecture given in Athens in 1964 ("Norman Sicily as a Source of Byzantine Influence on Western Art in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantine Art—An European Art: Lectures Given on the Occasion of the Ninth Exhibition of the Council of Euopre* [Athens, 1966], p. 121 ff.).

⁴¹ The icons discussed by Lazareff in his paper "Duccio and Thirteenth-Century Greek Icons" (*Burlington Magazine*, 59 [1931], p. 154 ff.) are probably too late in date to prove this point for the period before A.D. 1300. See the paper by J. Stubblebine in the present volume (p. 101). On the other hand, Professor Stubblebine has suggested that the two icons from Calahorra in the National Gallery in Washington may have been painted by Greek artists on Italian soil (*ibid.*, note 38).

⁴² Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii and *passim*; K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom" (in the present volume, p. 49 ff.).

^{42a} Weitzmann, *ibid.*, p. 75.

Honnecourt's famous and nearly contemporary sketchbook—but travel notes made in a Byzantine, or, at any rate, semi-Byzantine milieu.⁴³

So much for the actual contacts, the channels of communication, between Byzantine art and the West. The fact that there is a strong "live" element in this relationship is important, especially when considered in conjunction with our earlier observations concerning the internal development in Byzantine art during the period under discussion. The existence of these live contacts further adds to the image of Byzantine art as a living entity. This is indeed a basic point, essential to a true understanding of our entire problem. The greatest obstacle to a correct assessment of Byzantium's contribution to the art of the West is what may be called the "ice box" concept, the idea that the art of Byzantium was merely a sort of storehouse, an inert receptacle in which a repertory of traditional forms was conveniently and immutably preserved for the West to draw on. In actual fact it was an art still in the process of evolution and still capable of sending forth live impulses and live emissaries. How crucial a point this is will soon become apparent as we turn to the art of the West and consider its relationship to Byzantium in its successive phases.

A major breakthrough in the study of this relationship was accomplished exactly twenty-five years ago by Wilhelm Koehler. In a lecture given at the inauguration of Dumbarton Oaks,⁴⁴ Koehler introduced the concept of a great wave of Byzantine stylistic influence which powerfully affected the pictorial arts of Western Europe in the first half of the twelfth century. All of Koehler's specific observations were not new. But there was a three-fold significance to this truly seminal study: It pointed up the essential unity of what had until then been treated as more or less disparate phenomena in various branches of the pictorial arts in Italy, in France, in England, and in Germany; it focussed on style as the crucial area of contact between East and West during this period; and it penetrated beyond the mere definition of stylistic features to an understanding of what motivated Western artists in adopting these features.

The epitome of this international style of the first half of the twelfth century is what Koehler called the "damp fold," the soft, clinging drapery which so often is seen enveloping the limbs of painted or carved figures of this period in characteristic curvilinear patterns. When one compares earlier (or contemporary, but conservative) work from the same regions in which this feature does not appear, it becomes apparent that behind this purely formal device lies a new interest in the human form and its organic structure and movement; it signifies, to use Koehler's own words, "a new type of human being." The "damp fold" implies a fully rounded, actively and autonomously functioning body such as the flat, wraith-like creatures of the preceding era—creatures that were, so to speak, bent, twisted, and patterned by an outside force—do not possess. And it is quite evident that the source of the "damp fold"—and of the underlying concept of the human form—was Byzantium.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 79ff. See also my paper published in Athens (*supra*, note 40), especially, p. 139ff.

⁴⁴ "Byzantine Art in the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1 (1941), p. 61ff.

Koehler was aware that this massive Byzantine influence had its origin in the greatly intensified artistic contacts with the Greek East which were established in the second half of the eleventh century, particularly in Italy.⁴⁵ I have referred to some of these contacts, which, be it noted, belong to what would seem to be from a purely historical point of view an unpropitious era, the era just after the great Schism of 1054 and before the First Crusade. The arrival of Byzantine artists and objects in Montecassino, Venice, and elsewhere during this period can be shown to have had stylistic repercussions in the West even before the "damp fold" became the hallmark of an international Western European style.⁴⁶ Indeed, that style already embodies a mature and sophisticated stage in the process of Western apprenticeship. The emergence of the "damp fold" and all that it implies may have been, however, not only a matter of the West gradually penetrating closer to the essential formal qualities of Byzantine art. It may have been aided by recent stylistic trends in Byzantium itself; specifically, by the increased linearism which we have found to be characteristic of Byzantine art after 1100, and by the clearer exposure of the body's organic structure inherent in that development. A comparison of a mature exponent of the "damp fold" style from the far European West (fig. 9)⁴⁷ with an early twelfth-century wall painting from Cyprus (fig. 8)⁴⁸ illustrates the point. Byzantium may indeed have set, early in the twelfth century, new patterns and new challenges to which the West responded.

This was most certainly true in the second half of the twelfth century. I referred earlier to the "dynamic" style which emerged in Byzantine pictorial art during that period, and I said that this stylistic phase has been recognized only rather recently as a distinct and important one within the Byzantine development itself. The realization of what this phase meant for the West is more recent still. Indeed, its importance is only just beginning to be understood. Art historians have begun to speak of a "dynamic" wave following upon Koehler's "damp fold" wave,⁴⁹ and inasmuch as the "dynamic" wave was based on the most recent developments in Byzantine art itself, it is a prime example of Byzantium as a living force.

On Italian soil the Byzantine dynamic style is represented in pure, or almost pure, form by a number of mosaic and fresco decorations. Foremost among these are the mosaics of Monreale, executed by a team of Greek artists largely, or even entirely, within the decade from 1180 to 1190 (figs. 10, 12, 16, 19).⁵⁰ Reflections of the style can be seen in many places in Austria (fig. 11),⁵¹ in

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁶ Cf., e.g., the wall paintings of the baptistery of Concordia Sagittaria, which reflect the style of the mosaics of the main portal of San Marco in Venice, mosaics which in turn are closely dependent on those of Hosios Lukas (see the exhibition catalog *Pitture murali nel Veneto e tecnica dell'affresco* [Venice, 1960], p. 36f. and pl. 3. I owe this reference to Professor O. Demus.).

⁴⁷ Koehler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 44), p. 74.

⁴⁸ A. H. S. Megaw and A. Stylianou, *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, Unesco World Art Series (1963), pl. 8.

⁴⁹ Weitzmann, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 9); also the same author's remarks in the present volume (p. 23 f.).

⁵⁰ For references, see *supra*, note 9.

⁵¹ The pen drawing of the seated Christ in Vienna MS 953 (from Salzburg), which generally has been attributed to the period about or soon after 1150 (see H. J. Hermann, *Die deutschen*

Saxony,⁵² in the Rhineland,⁵³ in France,⁵⁴ and in England.⁵⁵ English art was particularly deeply touched by this wave and, more than any other, derived from it ways of expressing extremes of emotional agitation (fig. 13).

Yet we must beware lest we go too far. A spirit of more or less intense agitation is an almost universal phenomenon in the pictorial art of Western Europe in the final decades of the twelfth century, and all of this agitation cannot be ascribed to the influence, or, at any rate, the *direct* influence of Byzantium. Byzantium is not a universal key. To illustrate the limits of what it can account for let me refer to one of the great masterpieces produced in the West during this period, the Klosterneuburg Altar of 1181.⁵⁶ Its superb series of enamel plaques illustrating events from the Old and New Testaments in typological confrontation is the work of Nicholas of Verdun, the enigmatic genius whose oeuvre is the culminating glory of the great twelfth-century flowering of the goldsmith's art in the Meuse valley and the Rhineland. That there is a good deal of Byzantium in Nicholas' stylistic background there can be no doubt.⁵⁷ This Byzantine ingredient (e.g., in fig. 15), however, is not really the dynamic style (fig. 16), but rather the art of the 1150's and 1160's (fig. 14), when that style had not yet come into being. Where Nicholas' basic Byzantine affinities lie can be shown best, not through the finished enamels, but through an unfinished engraving (fig. 18) which came to light on the back of one of the plaques in a recent restoration: this plaque, which depicts the Holy Women's visit to the Sepulchre, shows, so to speak, the skeleton of Nicholas' style, and the relationship to Byzantine work of about 1160-1170 (fig. 17) is evident.⁵⁸ On the basis of such antecedents Nicholas develops his own version of the dynamic style, and while it is impossible to ignore the fact that the date of the Klosterneuburg Altar coincides roughly with the beginning of the work at Monreale (compare figs. 19, 20) the relationship here is not specific. Time and again in studying and analyzing Nicholas' enamels, one is reminded of Byzantine work of the "dynamic" phase.⁵⁹ Yet it is difficult to point to any concrete connections.

romanischen Handschriften = *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, N. S., II [Leipzig, 1926], p. 138ff. and fig. 84), in my opinion cannot be earlier than the mosaics of Monreale.

⁵² Weitzmann, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 9), p. 309ff.

⁵³ Demus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 9), p. 445ff.; also my paper published in Athens (*supra*, note 40), especially, pp. 131f., 135f.; and K. Weitzmann's paper quoted *supra*, note 42, p. 23f.

⁵⁴ J. Porcher, *L'enluminure française* (Paris, 1959), pl. 36 and p. 38.

⁵⁵ Demus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 9), p. 450f.; also my paper published in Athens (*supra*, note 40), especially, p. 136ff.

⁵⁶ Fl. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1955).

⁵⁷ For general discussions of Nicholas' background, in which many influences converge, see H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), p. 29ff.; Röhrig, *op. cit.*, p. 30ff.; H. Schnitzler in *Der Meister des Dreikönigenschreins* (exhibition catalog, Cologne, 1964), p. 7ff.

⁵⁸ O. Demus, "Neue Funde an den Emails des Nikolaus von Verdun in Klosterneuburg," *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Denkmalpflege*, 5 (1951), p. 13ff., esp. p. 16ff. and fig. 26. Röhrig, *op. cit.*, fig. 53.

⁵⁹ H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer: Die Romanik* (Düsseldorf, 1959), p. 9. What H. Swarzenski once called "the enigmatically early date" of the Klosterneuburg Altar ("Zwei Zeichnungen der Martinslegende aus Tournai," *Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag* [Berlin, 1935], p. 40) certainly appears less puzzling when seen in this light.

Thus, there arises here the problem of *parallelisms* between East and West as distinct from that of direct influences. Of course, the problem can arise only because Byzantine art was a moving stream, not a stagnant pool. It now appears that not only was there a succession of currents branching off from this stream and flowing into the stream of Western art, but, in addition, the two streams shared a common general direction. As a matter of fact, this was true not only in the late twelfth century, but in other periods also. Parallelism, as distinct from, and in addition to, direct influences, may have been a factor of some importance as early as the year one thousand when the Ottonian style was reaching maturity in the West, and Constantinople was distilling from the classical revivals of the "Macedonian renaissance" a mature mediaeval style of its own. Indeed, from that time on, and until about A.D. 1300, one can speak in a very broad sense of a common artistic evolution embracing both East and West and betokening a common cultural framework for all of European Christendom.⁶⁰ But in the late twelfth century this phenomenon becomes particularly evident and it will remain so for the ensuing one hundred years. Perhaps one should avoid the slightly mystical concept of a "Zeitstil" and think rather in terms of loose and broad connections, of general impulses which may have gone in either direction. In the particular case of Klosterneuburg there may have been a vague and perhaps indirect stimulus from Byzantium's "dynamic" phase, a stimulus which in the mind of a great artist like Nicholas of Verdun merged and coalesced with others from quite different sources to produce a broadly comparable result.

I have purposely singled out Nicholas of Verdun. He was a dominant figure in a region which played a leading role in Western Europe at the time when the Gothic pictorial style took shape. By focussing a little longer on his oeuvre and sphere of influence I can best illustrate Byzantium's role in that process, a role which after the 1180's and the 1190's becomes more and more elusive. Nicholas' own style undergoes a striking development.⁶¹ Agitation and dynamic power reach a climax in the latter stages of the Klosterneuburg series and in some of the majestic figures of prophets from the Cologne Shrine of the Three Kings which are generally agreed to be his work (fig. 22). But the storm abates in his late work, the Shrine of the Virgin at Tournai dated 1205, and gives way to a calm, quiet serenity (fig. 24). It is a remarkable change, perhaps the most remarkable that can be observed in any one personality in the generally anonymous world of mediaeval art. Nicholas, in his later years, became an exponent of a style which about the year 1200 began to dominate the pictorial arts, not only in his own region of the Meuse, but in northern France and in England as well. Towering figure that he was, he himself undoubtedly had helped to pioneer the new style. The classic calm and lucid serenity which characterizes his work at Tournai had appeared a few years earlier in English and northern French art: in the last of the miniatures of the great Winchester

⁶⁰ See in general M. Gigante, "Antico, bizantino e medioevo," *La Parola del Passato*, 96 (May-June 1964), p. 194 ff., esp. p. 212.

⁶¹ Schnitzler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 57), p. 9 ff.

Bible, for instance; in the Westminster Psalter; and in the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg (figs. 26, 30). It was a broad and broadly-based movement to which terms such as "neo-classicism" and "classical revival" have been aptly applied. It was a prelude to true Gothic rather than Gothic itself.⁶²

Now there was, as we have seen, at precisely the same time a return to calm and monumental serenity also in Byzantine art, where this phase played much the same role in relation to subsequent developments that the Meusan, French, and English "neo-classicism" was to play in the evolution of Gothic. But this surely is *only* a case of parallellism, and parallelism of the most general kind. There is no question, no evidence here of a broad and massive wave of influence comparable to the great Byzantine waves that swept the West in the twelfth century.

The sources of this Western "neo-classicism" are varied and complex. The heritage of the West's earlier classical revivals—the Carolingian and Ottonian particularly—undoubtedly played an important part. Indeed, in the Meuse region, which was Nicholas' true home ground, a taste for classical forms was almost endemic. But there is in his style, and in his late work particularly, a closeness to the real antique, an almost Phidian quality which time and again has defied explanation. An acquaintance with such remains of Roman provincial art as may have been visible in northwestern Europe could not by itself account for this quality. On the other hand, I also find it hard to believe that Nicholas travelled to Greece and studied the sculptures of the Parthenon. I would suggest that an important part was played in his development by an encounter, not so much with true antiques, as with works of what has come to be known as the "Byzantinische Antike" of the sixth and seventh centuries, works of the minor arts of the period of Justinian and Heraclius in which there is a very strong classical element. When one places side by side with figures from the Tournai Shrine (fig. 24) reliefs from Maximian's Chair (figs. 21, 23), one finds specific similarities in facial types, in stances, in the strange apron-like garments, and in details of drapery design which it would be difficult to match elsewhere. The heads of certain of the prophets of the Cologne Shrine (fig. 22) also invite such comparisons, and similar sixth-century sources (fig. 25) can be named for some of the most important features of the Ingeborg Psalter (fig. 26), particularly for those characteristic, softly-grooved draperies (or "Mulden") which are one of the decisive innovations in this manuscript, and in the art of its time.⁶³

⁶² O. Homburger, "Zur Stilbestimmung der figürlichen Kunst Deutschlands und des westlichen Europas im Zeitraum zwischen 1190 und 1250," *Formositas Romanica: Beiträge zur Erforschung der romanischen Kunst Joseph Gantner zugeeignet* (Frauenfeld, 1958), p. 29ff. O. Pächt, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain," *Burlington Magazine*, 103 (1961), p. 166ff., esp. p. 171. L. Grodecki, "Problèmes de la peinture en Champagne pendant la seconde moitié du douzième siècle," *Romanesque and Gothic Art = Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, I (Princeton, 1963), p. 129ff., esp. p. 140f.

⁶³ These stylistic connections seem to me more specific than those with more recent products of Byzantine metalwork, such as the silver reliefs from Tekali and Bochorra (H. Schnitzler, *op. cit.* [supra, note 57], p. 10 and figs. on pp. 7, 57). Works of the minor arts of the *early* Byzantine period were cited long ago by Wilhelm Vöge to account for the classicizing strain in early Gothic art ("Ueber die Bamberger Domsculpturen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 22 (1899), p. 94ff., esp. p. 97ff.;

Thus, there *is* a Byzantine element here, but it is an element stemming from a Byzantine past so remote that in the perspective of the year 1200 it must have seemed like antiquity itself. I have previously suggested that during the Crusades such ancient works may have reached the West in increased numbers, and although examples of Justinianic ivory carving and metalwork had been available all along, interest in this art may have been stimulated by new imports. In this sense the Western "neo-classicism" of A.D. 1200 may owe something to the East-West traffic of the time. Also, there are relationships to more recent Byzantine works. One of the miniatures of the Ingeborg Psalter has been convincingly compared to a tenth-century ivory, an exponent of the Byzantine "renaissance" of that period at its most serene.⁶⁴ The English master who, about the year 1200, executed the frescoes at Sigena (fig. 28) and who was clearly a close associate of the painter of the Westminster Psalter, must have studied, on his way to Spain, the twelfth-century frescoes and mosaics in southern Italy (fig. 27) and Sicily, though he translates their style into that pure, becalmed classicism which was his own ideal, or, perhaps, one should say, extracts from them this element latently present in all Byzantine art.⁶⁵ But the point is that the Western "neo-classicism" of about 1200 was an essentially autonomous achievement inspired primarily by works of the distant past and not dependent on, though vaguely parallel to, the exactly contemporary phase in Byzantine art.

This "neo-classicism," however, was the seed bed in which the classical phase of French thirteenth-century cathedral art grew. There are paths leading from Nicholas of Verdun and the Ingeborg Psalter to the sculptures of Laon, Chartres, and Rheims (figs. 29-32).⁶⁶ I cannot follow these steps in any detail. Many scholars believe that the great classical statuary of Rheims could not have come into being had not their creators seen true and large-scale Greek or Roman sculptures.⁶⁷ But, if so, they merely broadened and deepened the approach to the antique which Nicholas and his contemporaries had made a generation earlier.

Thus, we can now see what the over-all contribution of Byzantium to the nascent Gothic was. We have moved, step by step, from waves of massive influence to parallelism, and finally to a classical revival which draws on sources altogether independent, at any rate, from contemporary Byzantium. The waves of influence were absorbed only to be transcended, and, in the end,

ibid., 24 (1901), p. 195 ff., esp. p. 196 f.). Influences from works of Byzantine art of the tenth and subsequent centuries should not, however, be ruled out altogether (see *infra*).

⁶⁴ This comparison was made by Dr. F. Deuchler at a colloquium on the Master of the Shrine of the Three Kings, held in Cologne in July 1964, a colloquium which I was privileged to attend.

⁶⁵ Pächt, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 62), esp. p. 172 ff. See also my paper published in Athens (*supra*, note 40), especially p. 130 f.

⁶⁶ W. Sauerländer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der 'frühgotischen' Skulptur," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 19 (1956), p. 1 ff., esp. p. 2 (importance of Meusan metalwork; for earlier literature on this subject, see the references in note 5), p. 15 with note 59 (relationship of Laon to Nicholas of Verdun), p. 21 ff. (relationship of Chartres to Laon); see also *idem*, "Die Marienkrönungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 20 (1958), p. 115 ff., especially p. 135 (importance of English illuminated manuscripts). H. Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims* (Paris, 1963), p. 145 ff.

⁶⁷ Reinhardt, *ibid.*, p. 148 f.

the West achieved its own sovereign approach to classical antiquity.⁶⁸ There had been moves in this direction before. The importance of the various "proto-Renaissances" of the twelfth century, especially in Italy and France, should not be minimized.⁶⁹ But it was Byzantine art with its continuous and living challenge which had provided the principal schooling for the great and decisive breakthrough in the early thirteenth century. In successive stages it had held before Western eyes an ideal of the human form, first as a coherent and autonomous organism, then as an instrument of intense action and emotion. This was what enabled the West finally to make its own terms with the classical past, and to create its own version of a humanistic art. Ultimately Byzantium's role was that of a midwife, a pace-maker. Though, in this sense, the part it played was crucial, it had little direct influence on mature Gothic art. Once the great independent breakthrough toward the classical had been accomplished in the early thirteenth century, the countries that had been responsible for it—northern France, Flanders, and England primarily—were no longer susceptible to massive stylistic influences from the Greek East. Of the transalpine countries, only Germany experienced a further strong wave of Byzantine stylistic influence in the first half of the thirteenth century, a wave which produced the so-called "Zackenstil"; but this, in European terms, was a cul-de-sac.⁷⁰ Otherwise, from here on, so far as northern Europe is concerned, the relationship to Byzantium is mainly a matter of that broad and elusive parallelism of which I spoke earlier. This parallelism, however, continues throughout the great period of "high" Gothic. When one stands in the church at Sopoćani and beholds its fresco decoration with those great statuesque figures seemingly bulging forward from the walls (fig. 7), and, at the same time, soaring upward with a powerful thrust, one cannot help thinking of the sculptured statues of French and German cathedrals.⁷¹ But what, if any, concrete links this may involve is still a mystery.⁷²

⁶⁸ See the excellent formulation by O. Demus apropos of Nicholas of Verdun: "Er dürfte der erste nordische Meister gewesen sein, der durch die Oberflächenschicht des italobyzantinischen Stilhabitus zu den antiken Grundlagen der Form durchstieß und damit der langdauernden Lehrzeit der nordischen Kunst bei der byzantinischen ein Ende machte" (*op. cit.* [*supra*, note 58], p. 18).

⁶⁹ Panofsky, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), p. 55 ff.

⁷⁰ H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau* (Berlin, 1936), p. 8; O. Demus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 14), p. 88. The "Zackenstil" is not simply a lingering reflection of the Byzantine "dynamic" wave of the late twelfth century, but was formed on the basis of quite up-to-date Byzantine models; see Weitzmann, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 13).

⁷¹ This was my experience when visiting Sopoćani in 1953. I was happy to find during the preparations for the 1965 symposium at Dumbarton Oaks that my friend Professor Otto Demus had independently come to the same conclusion. In the lecture on wall paintings which he gave at the Symposium, Professor Demus made striking comparisons between figures from Sopoćani and statues from Naumburg Cathedral which are of virtually the same date.

⁷² A. Frolov has recently suggested a direct influence of Byzantine paintings and mosaics to account, or to help account, for the characteristic sweeping curve of Gothic statues ("L'origine des personnages hanchés dans l'art gothique," *Revue archéologique* [1965], I, p. 65 ff.). But, if there was such an influence in the thirteenth century—as distinct from, and in addition to, a development growing from seeds sown during the period of the West's own "neoclassicism" about A.D. 1200—that influence was absorbed and transposed in the freest and most sovereign manner. The gradual and essentially autonomous emergence of the motif in French early thirteenth-century sculpture has been beautifully described by W. Vöge ("Vom gotischen Schwung und den plastischen Schulen des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 27 [1904], p. 1 ff., esp. p. 5).

I shall be brief on the subject of the new birth of painting in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century. Obviously I could not do justice here to this vast and complex story. I only want to make one point which I consider essential, namely, that in its broad outlines, in its over-all pattern, the evolution in the Italian Dugento repeats that which we have just followed in the north: waves of Byzantine influence lead to an intensive and independent encounter with the antique which, in turn, is the prelude to complete emancipation.⁷³

The further waves of Byzantine influence which reach Italy in the thirteenth century are what is commonly known as the *maniera greca*, that controversial phenomenon of which I spoke at the outset. In claiming it as analagous in character and effect to the Byzantine waves of the twelfth century that led to the emergence of Gothic, I have, by implication, declared my view of the matter. The *maniera greca* was not the dead hand of tradition. It reflects a series of live impulses from a living art. These impulses entered the main stream of the Italian development, and far from retarding or interrupting that development played an important, if indirect, part in bringing about its final climax.

This can be shown most readily by focussing on the second half of the Dugento and, more particularly, on the impact made on Italian painting of that period by what was then the latest Byzantine development, namely, the "volume style" of the early Palaeologan period. The influence of this style was immediate and obvious in the Venetian mosaic workshops (fig. 33),⁷⁴ but it also made itself felt as early as the 1270's in central Italy,⁷⁵ and, above all, in what was to become the heartland of the Italian Renaissance, Tuscany. Some details from the mosaics in the dome of the Florence Baptistery which have sometimes been attributed to the young Cimabue invite direct comparison with Palaeologan work (figs. 34, 35).⁷⁶ So do the frescoed Evangelists in the Upper Church at Assisi, which are generally agreed to be a work of Cimabue of the 1280's or early 1290's. If these figures are heavy and corporeal, if, with their obliquely placed furniture, they seem to come forward from the picture plane, if the accompanying architecture appears staged in depth, it is obvious where the principal source for all this lies.⁷⁷ In the young Duccio's Ruccellai Madonna, also a work of the 1280's, the same influence may be less immediately identifiable because it has been sublimated, as it were, and

⁷³ This parallelism between the Northern and the Italian development was noted by Koehler, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 44), p. 86f., and Panofsky, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), p. 137.

⁷⁴ O. Demus, "The Ciborium Mosaics of Parenzo," *Burlington Magazine*, 87 (1945), p. 238ff., esp. pl. 1 A and p. 242; *idem*, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 12), p. 39.

⁷⁵ Toesca, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 3), p. 97of. (Grottaferrata).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1003 and fig. 705. The figures of prophets in the central disk of the vault of the Scarsella, which also derive very obviously from Palaeologan art, have been attributed by O. Demus to Venetian mosaicists who came to Florence after 1301 ("The Tribuna Mosaics of the Florence Baptistery," *Actes du VI^e congrès international d'études byzantines*, II [Paris, 1951], p. 101ff., esp. p. 106ff.; for illustrations, see *I mosaici del Battistero di Firenze* [a cura della Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze], V [Florence, 1959], pl. 15ff.).

⁷⁷ Demus, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 12), p. 40 and figs. 18, 32. For Cimabue's work at Assisi and its Byzantine affinities, see also the paper by J. Stubblebine in the present volume (p. 96 f. and figs. 14-17).

tempered with other elements, most obviously in the throne.⁷⁸ Shown in the same oblique and depth-creating view as that of the Assisi Evangelists, it has become a fanciful and elegant piece of miniature Gothic architecture. But Duccio's strong and direct indebtedness to contemporary Byzantium becomes evident in comparing the busts on the frame of the Madonna with Byzantine miniatures of the same period,⁷⁹ or the head of one of the angels⁸⁰ with an angel from Sopoćani.⁸¹ What is even more important here than the purely formal similarities is an ethos of serene, aristocratic humaneness which these figures share. And whatever the complexities of Duccio's development, whatever other ingredients contributed to the further evolution of his style, there is still a strong Palaeologan flavor in his Maestà of 1308, witness a comparison with the almost contemporary work in the Kariye Djami (figs. 36, 37).

Clearly, then, the Greek influence involved something more than an endless repetition by unimaginative Italian craftsmen of stale and outworn Byzantine formulae. It was a living challenge emanating from the most recent developments in Constantinople and taken up by leading artists.⁸²

Meanwhile, however, there had been another movement of great importance, namely, a return to Italy's own antique heritage. A number of Italian thirteenth-century artists borrowed consciously and systematically from Roman and early Christian art, thus continuing the chain of "proto-renaissances" of the twelfth century. Niccolo Pisano is a famous example. But the most systematic and deliberate effort to revive the ancient native heritage took place in Rome in the last decades of the century, when Cavallini restored the fifth-century wall paintings of San Paolo f.l.m. and Torriti "recreated" in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore an early Christian type of mosaic complete with rich, fleshy acanthus rinceaux and a Nilotic landscape with sporting cupids.⁸³ What is important here—and to realize it one need only look at the figures of saints in Torriti's mosaic—is that the early Christian element merges and coalesces with a strong influence from the Byzantine "volume style" (figs. 38, 39).⁸⁴ What might otherwise have been a fussy accumulation of antiquarian detail becomes part of a monumental vision in which the grandeur and majesty of the human figure are powerfully proclaimed. And it was from this fusion of Eastern Hellenism and native late antique art, accomplished in Rome in the closing decades of the thirteenth century, that Giotto received decisive impulses. Giotto's new image of man—dignified, autonomous, creating, and

⁷⁸ Stubblebine, *ibid.*, p. 99 f. and fig. 22.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99 and figs. 16, 21, 23. See also V. N. Lazareff, in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 5 (1952), p. 178 ff., esp. fig. 8.

⁸⁰ Stubblebine, *op. cit.*, fig. 26.

⁸¹ V. J. Durić, *Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1963), pl. 32. For comparisons with Byzantine icons, see Stubblebine, *op. cit.*, figs. 28, 29 and p. 99 f.

⁸² Stubblebine, *ibid.*, p. 100. For Palaeologan influences on miniature painting in Sicily in the early fourteenth century, see the paper by H. Buchthal in the present volume (p. 103 ff.).

⁸³ W. Päsel, "Der Rückgriff der römischen Spätdugentmalerei auf die christliche Spätantike," *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1950), p. 157 ff. Panofsky, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), p. 137. For Cavallini's work in S. Paolo see J. White, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), p. 84 ff.

⁸⁴ P. Toesca, *Pietro Cavallini* (Milan, 1959), p. 6.

completely dominating his spatial environment—owes much to Cavallini and his Roman circle, though it was nurtured also by further borrowings from the antique.⁸⁵ Thus, there is indeed a repetition of the chain of evolution that a century before had led from direct Byzantine influence to the “neo-classicism” of Nicholas of Verdun, and, finally, to the classic art of Chartres and Rheims.

Both in Italy and in the Gothic North, the Byzantine contribution was essentially a midwife service. It is not true to say that the Byzantine currents were without a future, let alone that they were merely obstructions. It is true to say that in the end the West found salvation elsewhere. Both of the decisive breakthroughs in the history of Western mediaeval art involved intensive and independent study of, and borrowing from, classical and early Christian antiquity. In this sense they were reactions against Byzantium. But they were preceded and, indeed, triggered by intensive waves of Byzantine influence.

It is clear also what accounts for this influence. The spell which Byzantine art held for so long—and in Italy so much longer than in the North—was due to its sustained quest for humane values. The Greek artists who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries pursued their age-old interest in the human form and proclaimed successively its organic cohesion, its capability of conveying emotions and moods, and, finally, its power to create and dominate space, held out challenges and provided lessons such as the West’s own mute relics of antiquity could never have provided by themselves. Italy, for profound historical reasons, was captivated by these values far more strongly than were the transalpine countries. Hence the long duration of her state of apprenticeship—but hence also the thoroughness of the humanistic revolution which followed. Italy after 1300 was far less prone to “mediaeval reactions” than was the Gothic North; she was, in fact, firmly launched on the road to the Renaissance.

My subject was the Byzantine contribution to Western art, not the artistic relationship between East and West in its entirety. Had the latter been my theme more would have had to be said about the limitations to which Byzantine influence always was subject in the West. Whenever one puts side by side with a Byzantine work of art a Western mediaeval one—even, and, indeed, especially, a Western work that cleaves very closely to a Byzantine model—one cannot help being forcibly struck by what are, from the Byzantine point of view, misunderstandings, misreadings, or, at any rate, reinterpretations. The manner and direction of the departure from the Byzantine norm differ depending on the period and on the national background of the Western artists involved. But there are definite trends. There are strictly morphological changes, such as the tendency to replace Byzantium’s soft, painterly lines by sharper and more calligraphic ones,⁸⁶ or its rather loose and vague correlation of figures and objects in space by some form of constructivism whereby the

⁸⁵ Oertel, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 3), p. 68. Panofsky, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), pp. 119, 137, 148, 151 ff. (with further references).

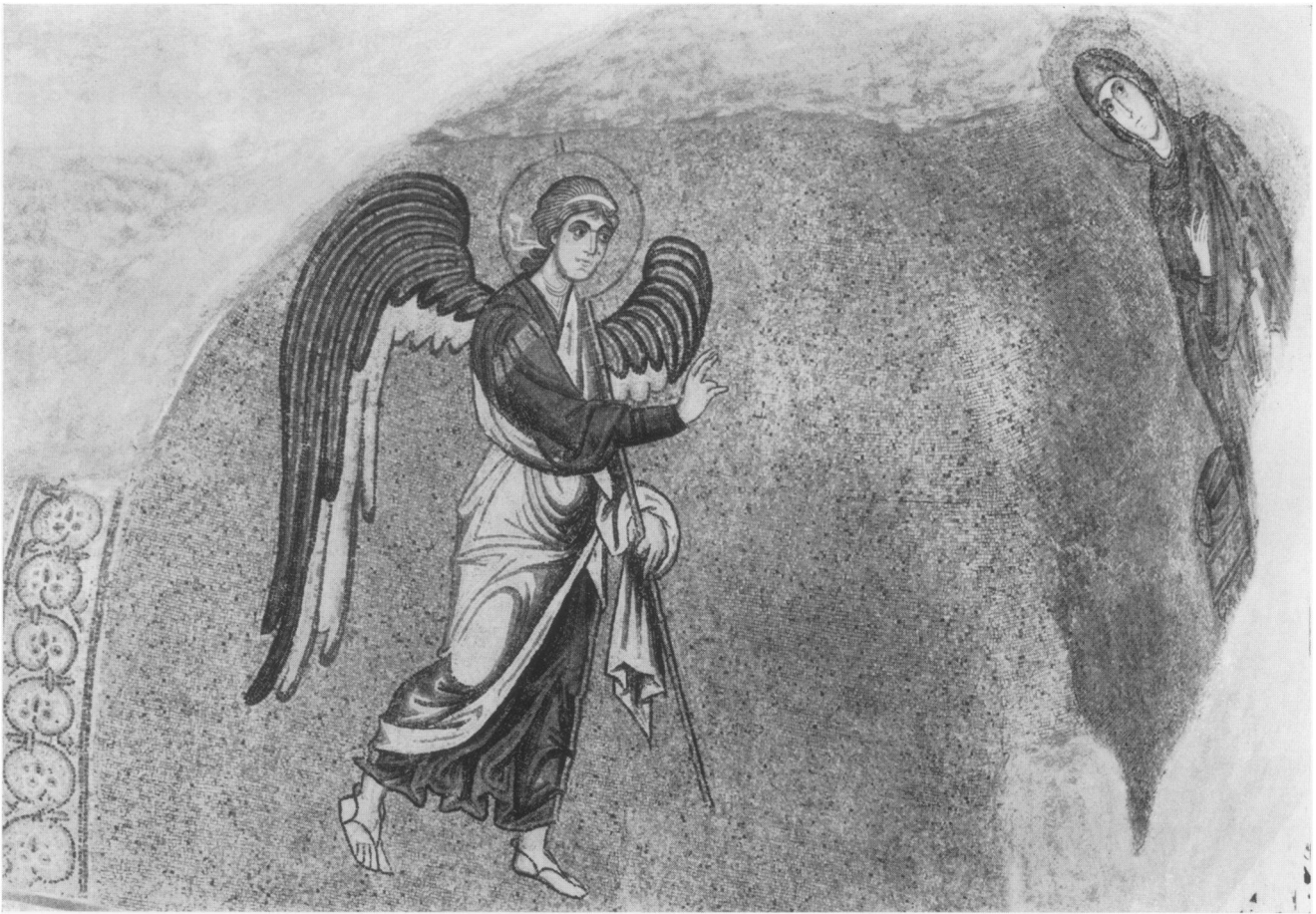
⁸⁶ See, e.g., figs. 34, 35; also K. Weitzmann’s two papers in the present volume, *passim* (e.g., p. 7f. and figs. 8–11; p. 66 and fig. 32; p. 69 and fig. 33f.; p. 81f. and fig. 66ff.).

single elements of a picture become, so to speak, building blocks neatly and often tightly stacked in zones and staged in receding planes.⁸⁷ And there are the more subtle psychological changes, the casting-off of emotional restraints, the attempts at increased empathy, the unwonted touches of drastic realism, and the expressionist excesses which in some instances lead to distortion and caricature.⁸⁸ All these are Western attitudes of long standing; most of them can be discerned in the Western approach to the art of the Greek East even in the Carolingian period, and some earlier still. They bespeak deep and fundamental differences, differences that reach far beyond the realm of form and have to do with wholly divergent attitudes toward the role and function of religious art, and ultimately toward the entire world of the senses.

Here lies a vast field of further enquiry. It is a fascinating field encompassing as it does the whole problem of the Greek and the Western world in their estrangement as well as in their kinship. But my purpose was a more limited one. It will have been accomplished if I have been able to show that during a crucial period of its artistic development the West received from Byzantium vital help in finding itself.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., Stubblebine, *op. cit.*, p. 87f. and fig. 1f.; p. 92f. and fig. 11f.; p. 97 and fig. 18.

⁸⁸ See, e.g., fig. 13; also K. Weitzmann's two papers, p. 16f. and fig. 27; p. 60 and fig. 19; p. 63f. and fig. 23; p. 64 and fig. 26.



1. Daphni, Naos. Mosaic, Annunciation, detail



2. Istanbul, St. Sophia, South Gallery.
Mosaic Panel of Emperor John II Comnenus,
detail, the Empress Irene



3. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, Iconostasis.
Wall Painting, St. Panteleimon



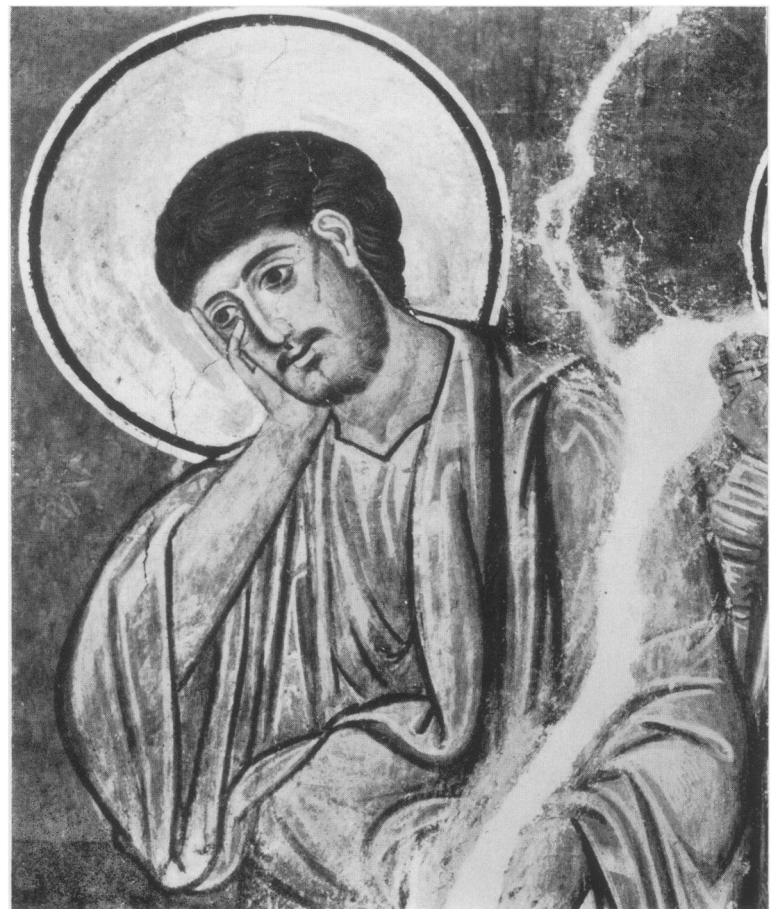
4. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon, Naos. Wall Painting, Lamentation of Christ



5. Kurbinovo, Church of St. George, Bema Arch. Wall Painting, Angel of the Annunciation



7. Sopoćani, Church of the Holy Trinity, Naos. Wall Painting, a Patriarch



6. Studenica, Church of the Virgin, Naos, West Wall. Wall Painting, Crucifixion, detail, St. John



8. Asinou, Church of the Panaghia Phorbiotissa, Naos.
Wall Painting, Dormition, detail



9. Canterbury, Cathedral, St. Anselm's Chapel.
Wall Painting, St. Paul at Malta



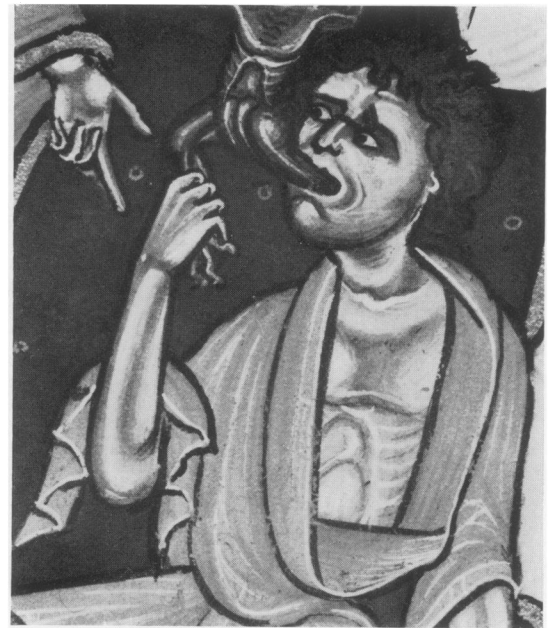
10. Monreale, Cathedral, West Wall. Mosaic, Lot and the Angels,
detail



11. Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 953,
Inside of Cover, Pen Drawing, Christ



12. Monreale, Cathedral, South Aisle. Mosaic, Healing of the Daughter of the Canaanite Woman, detail



13. Winchester, Cathedral Library. Bible, vol. III, fol. 215, Healing of Demoniac, detail



14. Palermo, Cappella Palatina, Nave. Mosaic, Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, detail



15. Klosterneuburg, Altar of Nicholas of Verdun. Annunciation, detail



16. Monreale, Cathedral, Nave. Mosaic, Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, detail



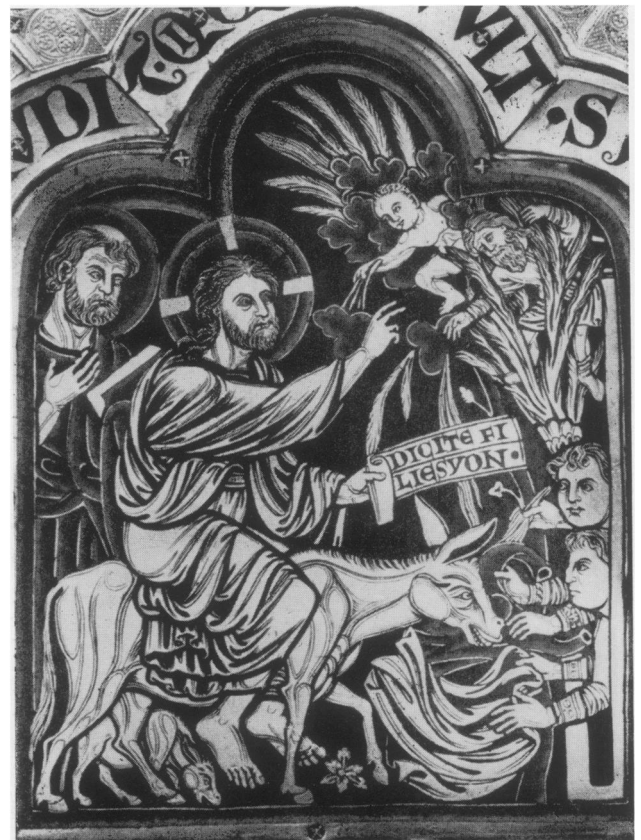
17. Cefalù, Cathedral, Chancel Vault. Mosaic, detail, Angel



18. Klosterneuburg, Altar of Nicholas of Verdun.
Back of Plaque depicting Hell,
the Holy Women at the Sepulcher



19. Monreale, Cathedral, North Chapel.
Mosaic, St. Paul handing Letters to Timothy
and Silas, detail



20. Klosterneuburg, Altar of Nicholas of Verdun.
Entry into Jerusalem



21. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile. Ivory Chair of Maximian, detail, Four Evangelists



23.

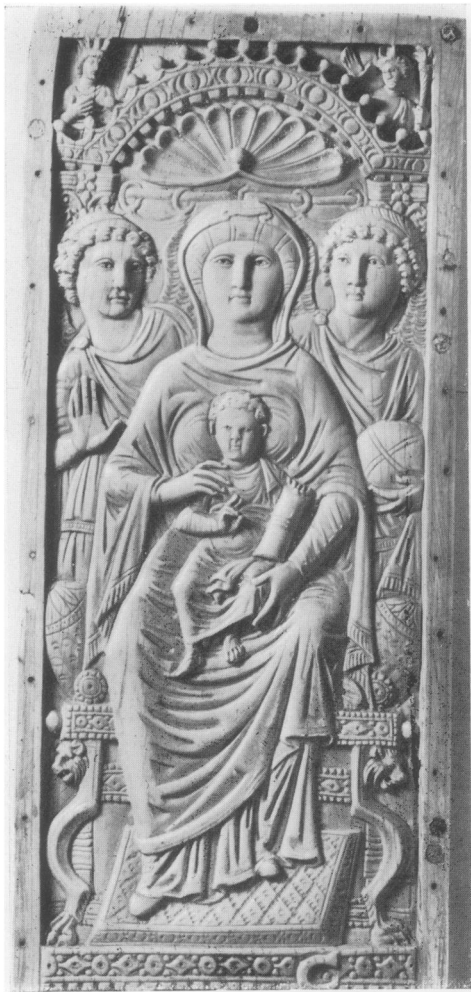
Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile. Ivory Chair of Maximian, detail, Four Evangelists



22. Cologne, Cathedral. Shrine of the Three Kings, detail, Prophet Amos



24. Tournai, Cathedral. Shrine of the Virgin, detail, Presentation in the Temple



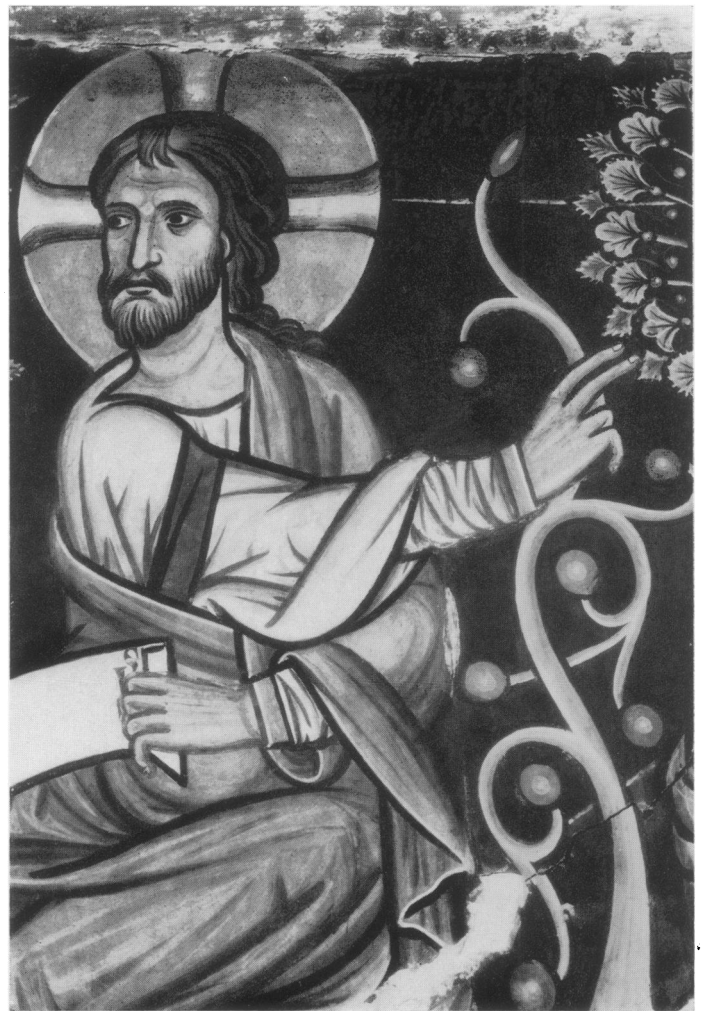
25. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Panel of Ivory Diptych, Virgin and Child



27. Rongolise, Grotta di S. Maria. Wall Painting, Dormition, detail, Christ



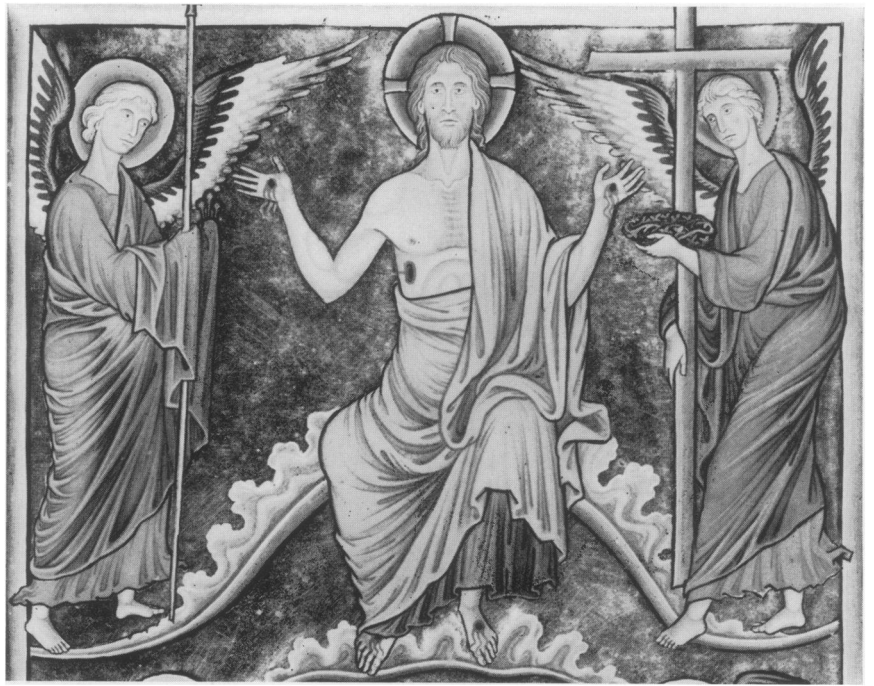
26. Chantilly, Musée Condé. MS 9/1695 (Psalter of Queen Ingeborg), Fol. 32v, Pentecost, detail



28. Sigena, Chapter House. Wall Painting, Genesis Scene, detail, the Lord



29. Laon, Cathedral, West Façade,
North Portal. Archivolte Figure, from a cast



30. Chantilly, Musée Condé. MS 9/1695 (Psalter of Queen Ingeborg),
Fol. 33, Last Judgement, detail

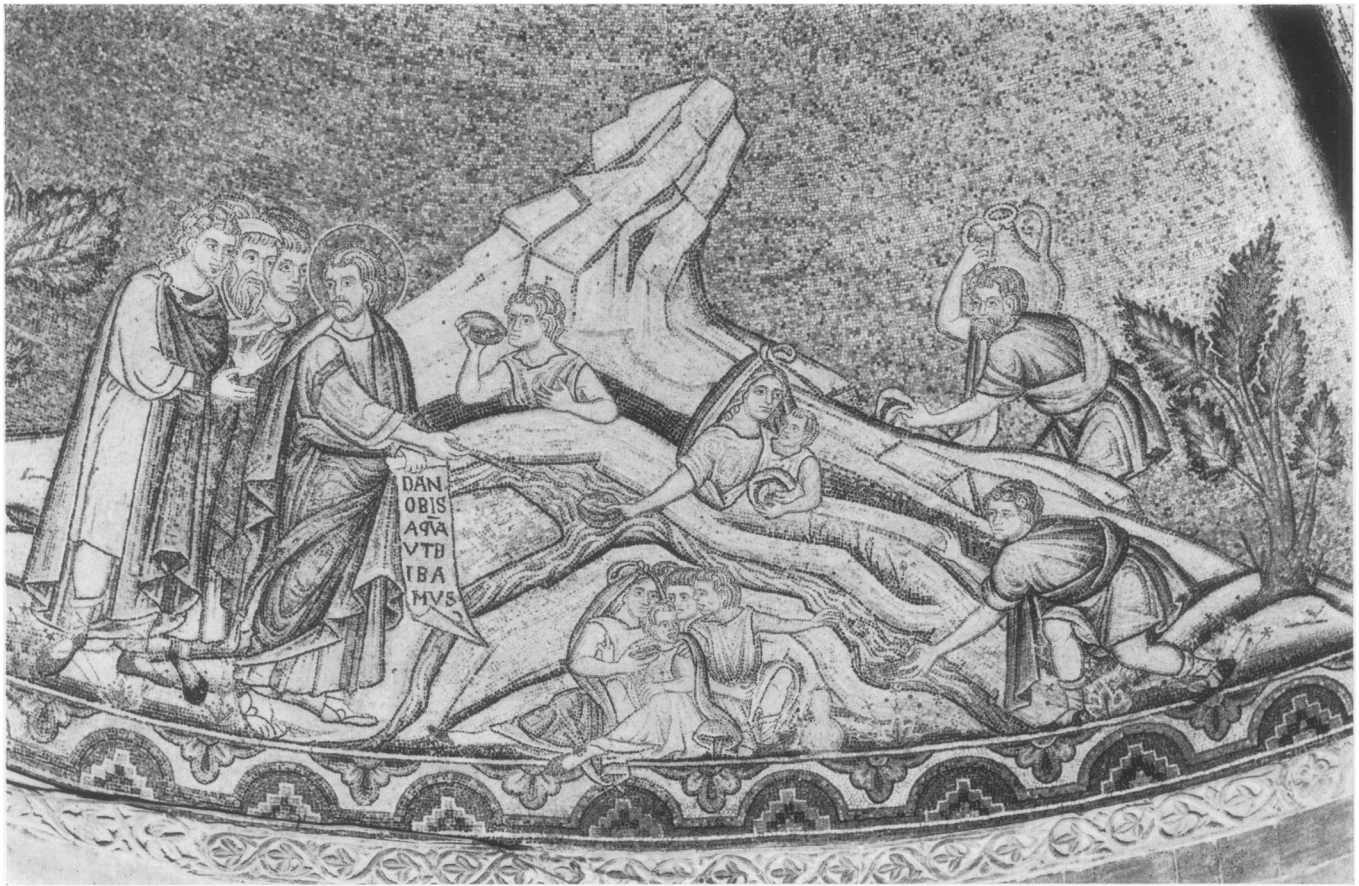


31. SS. Peter and Andrew



32. SS. Paul and James

Rheims, Cathedral, North Transept, Portal of the Last Judgement.



33. Venice, San Marco, Atrium, North Wing. Mosaic, Water Miracle of Moses



34. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon of the Forty Martyrs, enlarged detail



35. Florence, Baptistery, Dome. Mosaic, Birth of John the Baptist, detail



36. Istanbul, Kariye Djami, Outer Narthex. Mosaic, The Temptations of Christ, detail



37. Siena, Opera del Duomo. *Maestà* by Duccio Gethsemane Scene, detail



38. Sopoćani, Church of the Holy Trinity, Naos. Wall Painting, a Patriarch



39. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore, Apse. Mosaic by Jacopo Torriti, detail, SS. Peter and Paul